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A NEW HOPE *for* WORLD SOCIALISM

(The Resolutions adopted at the Revolutionary Socialist Congress, Paris, February 19th-25th, 1938, together with the Introductory Speeches.)

SUBJECTS:

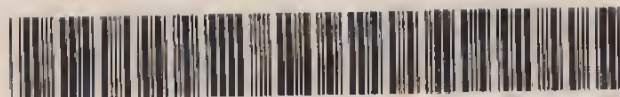
THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS AND
OUR TASKS.
THE POPULAR FRONT AND THE WORKERS'
FRONT.
THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM.
THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR.
THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM.
THE JAPANESE WAR ON CHINA.
THE STRUGGLE IN SPAIN.
ET RUSSIA

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FOREWORD

THE Conference was called by the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity. This Bureau consists of Revolutionary Socialist Parties unattached to either the Second or Third Internationals, in Britain, Sweden, Germany, Spain, Italy, Holland, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Greece, Palestine, Rumania, and Bulgaria. It has contacts in twenty countries.

The Conference was summoned on the basis of certain principles (see Resolution I), and was attended by representatives of a number of Parties and Groups not attached to the Bureau.

The distinctive feature of the Conference was the alliance formed between three sections of the International Working Class Movement: (a) The Bureau Parties, (b) The International Communist Opposition, and (c) The Workers' organisations in Colonial countries.

The Conference recognised the necessity to bring together all genuinely Revolutionary Socialist sections in one Revolutionary International and regarded itself as preparatory to that. It agreed on certain immediate tasks, and decided that the Bureau should transform and develop its organisation on the basis of the disciplined acceptance of the Principles of the Conference. (See Resolution I).

The Conference represented a big advance in the unification of the Revolutionary Socialist Movement of the World. Around the International Bureau the forces are gathering which will establish the Revolutionary Marxist International.

The Parties Present

THE International Congress held in the Halls of the Mutuality, Paris, from February 19th to 24th, 1938, was called by the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity.

The following organisations were represented :—

SWEDISH SOCIALIST PARTY
BRITISH I.L.P.
SPANISH WORKERS' PARTY OF MARXIST UNITY (POUM)
ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY (MAXIMALIST)
GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY (SAP)
PALESTINE WORKERS' PARTY
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF HOLLAND
INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH BUREAU
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST OPPOSITION (ICO) (including German, American and Danish Sections)
AFRICAN WORKERS' PARTY
ARCHI-MARXIST COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE
KIBBUTZ ARTZI, PALESTINE
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY (RSAP) OF HOLLAND
FRENCH UNITED PROLETARIAN PARTY (PUP)
GERMAN "NEUER WEG"
SOCIALIST GROUP "ALARM" OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
FRENCH AUTONOMOUS SOCIALIST YOUTH
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
AUSTRIAN GROUP : "DER FUNKE"

Certain parties, which for organisational reasons were unable to send full delegates, had members present as observers, including the following :—

FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY (SFIO)
AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY
AFRICAN TRADES UNIONS
SENEGAL LEAGUE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE BLACKS
INDO-CHINESE COLONIAL UNION
MADAGASCAR NATIONAL LIBERATION SOCIETY
PONDICHERRY NATIVE TRADE UNIONS
THE STAR OF NORTH AFRICA

The International Working Class Movement and our Tasks

OPENING SPEECH OF FENNER BROCKWAY (BRITISH I.L.P.)

WHEN we examine the position of the Working Class Movement in the world to-day, and the forces represented in this Congress, we realise that ours is a tremendous responsibility. *It is no less than to revitalise the whole movement in a revolutionary sense.*

We are living in a period of Capitalist decay, which is seen in a succession of crises, each of which is deeper than the preceding. The constant danger of war hangs over the whole world, and war itself is now being waged in Spain and China. Fascism exists not only in Italy, Germany and Central Europe, but is invading America. *Revolutionary Socialists understand that these crises represent, not the strength, but the weakness of Capitalism.* They demonstrate the correctness of Karl Marx's prophecy when he said that Capitalism would finally result in permanent crisis, war and the open dictatorship of the possessing class.

But, as realists, we see that this world chaos is mirrored in the working class. *The tragedy is, that, at a time when the economic developments provide possibilities for the seizure of power by the workers, we have not the instrument capable of carrying this out.* What is the reason for this? The answer of Revolutionary Socialists must be: (1), the departure of the Working Class Movement from the basis of the class struggle in the fight against Capitalism and for Socialism, and, (2), the identification of the Working Class Movement with the Capitalist State.

This has long been clear in the case of the Second International. During the war of 1914-1918 the leaders of the Second International formed National Unity Govern-

ments and concentrated on the task of maintaining the Capitalist State. This tendency did not end there, but has continued in every subsequent development.

We must face the fact that the Third International has now committed the same errors. It has become the instrument of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia and must, therefore, not alienate the potential allies of Soviet Russia, namely, France and Britain. Thus the policies of the Second and Third Internationals approximate ever more nearly into the defence of "democratic" Capitalism instead of the demand for Socialism.

On the issue of Imperialism, the historic Social-Democratic view has been the gradual development of the subject peoples through constitutional courses, and the mandate system. To-day, the Third International has also abandoned the militant anti-Imperialist struggle. *It is obvious, if Soviet Russia is to win Britain and France as allies, that the Communist International must not encourage the class struggle and revolts among the subject peoples of the British and French Empires.*

What sections of the working class are resisting these disastrous policies of the Second and Third Internationals? They occupy five groups:—

1. The Independent Revolutionary Socialist Organisations associated with the International Bureau.
2. The revolutionary sections within the Second International, such as the revolutionary elements in the Austrian Socialist Party, the French S.F.I.O., the American Socialist Party, the Bund, and other Parties.
3. The groups of Opposition Communists which have either been excluded from the Communist International, or have themselves withdrawn, because of their unwillingness to follow the new line.
4. The working-class movements which are growing among the coloured workers. (They are disillusioned by the Second and Third Internationals, but are still uncertain whether we shall be more equal to the task of helping them to obtain national freedom and Socialism.)
5. Sections of workers which hold the Anarchist view, such

as the C.N.T./F.A.I. in Spain. (Though we are Marxists and they are Anarchists, the situation in Spain has shown that common revolutionary action can be taken.)

What is our task? There is a tremendous call for us to become the vanguard of the whole working-class movement and to prepare the situation from which a Revolutionary Workers' International will emerge.

The method to do this is not for small groups to prepare theses and announce themselves as a "New International." The theses may be quite correct, but, nevertheless, they need not cause a ripple on the surface of the working class movement. The right method is, not merely to discuss correct revolutionary lines, but, for each of the parties to work in the ranks of the International Proletariat on the basis of the continuing class struggle and to stimulate and prepare for the historic surge out of which the Revolutionary International will arise.

We look at the Second International and see it clinging to the outworn ideas that Socialism can be achieved by minority governments, by coalitions or by parliamentary majorities, using the apparatus of the Capitalist State. But there exist also revolutionary movements within the Second International. The time must come when these sections will break. At that moment we must be the centre and rallying point to which they will turn.

The Third International has often changed its policy and it may do so again. Indeed, the recent pronouncement of Stalin, in which no reference was made to the League of Nations nor to alliances with Capitalist Parties in the Popular Front, may foreshadow such a change. But much more than this is needed. There must be a fundamental change in the Communist Party of Russia, introducing proletarian democracy, and in the structure of the Communist International. In the Third International, as well as the Second International, the revolutionary elements will tend to separate themselves, and it is our duty to make ourselves the focus point to which they will move.

Our immediate practical tasks are these:—

1. To obtain the acceptance by all Revolutionary sections

of the working class of the basic principles of this Conference.

2. To unite our forces into one International Revolutionary Centre which must be capable of such growth as to include all Revolutionary forces.

3. To overcome the organisational barriers between us and the revolutionary elements in the Second and Third Internationals. One method to do this is to publish a journal in English, French, German and Spanish, which shall be an open forum for the discussion of all problems by all genuine revolutionaries.

4. To take common action with Anarcho-Syndicalist organisations on all agreed revolutionary issues, and to encourage the discussion of our respective theories and practices through the International Journal.

5. To co-operate with the National Movements in the colonies, and particularly with its Peasants' and Workers' sections, and to assist in the formation of Peasants' Unions, Trades Unions, etc.

6. To establish an International News Service for distribution to all sections of the working class movement.

7. To open an International Fund to be used particularly to assist revolutionary workers in the illegal struggle in Fascist and Semi-Fascist countries.

This Congress has a great historical rôle. Many disillusioned workers may be tempted to give up the struggle. We must show them that the revolutionary working class has still its historic mission to perform and that the next step is to create the conditions enabling us to establish a real Revolutionary International.

RESOLUTION I.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT AND OUR TASKS

1. Capitalism is in the throes of a severe crisis, shaking it to its very foundations. In the most highly developed countries of Capitalism millions are workless; in an increasing number of countries the ruling class resort to the open dictatorship of Fascism; the most powerful Capitalist Governments are spending millions in arming themselves to the teeth in preparation for the next war.

2. Mankind finds itself between two world wars. The machinery set up in 1919 by the victorious Powers, the satiated Imperialist Powers, for the perpetuation of the Capitalist order has been breaking down rapidly. The Versailles system has disintegrated. In the ranks of the world bourgeoisie the alignments and re-alignments for the impending world war are now crystallising.

3. In this situation new tasks of grave importance face the ranks of the international working-class movement. The increasing chaos of the Capitalist world provides a great opportunity for an advance towards Socialism. But unfortunately the international working-class movement is not in a position to seize the opportunity.

4. The first responsibility for this deplorable situation lies with the Second and Third Internationals, which have both deserted revolutionary Marxist principles.

5. For decades the leadership of the Second International has been part of the general staff of world Capitalism. It is these "reformists" who helped to drive the masses into the last Imperialist war and who lent incalculable aid to the bourgeoisie in defeating the first wave of world revolution which followed the victory of the Russian proletariat in 1917. In recent years the Communist International, through its adoption of class alliances in the Popular Front, and its desertion of revolutionary opposition to Imperialist war, has begun systematically to adopt the disastrous policies and practices of the Second International which it previously

denounced and has lent new life and authority to "reformism" and "social-patriotism."

6. This situation in the working-class movement cannot be overcome by wavering between or floundering within the Second and Third Internationals. Only through the development of an International adopting a revolutionary Marxist programme and practice, based on the principles laid down by Marx and developed and applied by Lenin in the Russian Revolution, can the working-class movement save itself from its critical condition and advance to the conquest of power.

7. The Second International cannot be brought back to the road of the class struggle. The Third International has also become a reformist organisation, the international instrument of the Stalinist reactionary bureaucracy, and cannot serve revolutionary principles because of (a) the Stalinist leadership of the C.P.S.U., and of its puppets in the Comintern and its sections; (b) the counter-revolutionary elements which have crept in, or become such, as a result of its Popular Front policy; (c) its repudiation in practice of the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninism, and (d) the complete absence of inner democracy within the C.P.S.U. and the C.I. It is necessary for Revolutionary Socialists in both the Second and Third Internationals to challenge these policies and features of their organisations and face the consequences of such action.

8. The "organic unity" on a reformist basis of the parties of the Second and Third Internationals, or of the Internationals themselves, can be no solution of the problem before the working class. It can lead only to a strengthening of reformism and to a combination of Social Democratic coalition policy with Stalinist bureaucratic terrorism. The example of the Catalanian P.S.U.C. proves this.

9. The need of the hour is the gathering together of all forces, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which are ready to co-operate in revolutionary struggle against all Imperialist forces, against the so-called democratic Capitalist Powers as well as the Fascist Powers, against

Imperialist exploitation, war and poverty. Towards the realisation of this need this Conference is a significant step.

10. The basis of collaboration should be the acceptance of the following principles included in the invitation to this Conference:

(a) Class action as the basis of the struggle against Capitalism, the Capitalist State, War, Fascism and Imperialism.

(b) Rejection of the policy of the Popular Front, practised by the Second and Third Internationals, as a form of class collaboration. The correct alternative is a Workers' Front. The Workers' Front can make temporary agreements with the petty bourgeoisie organisations for specific objectives on the understanding that this does not limit the independent class action of the workers for the aims of the Social Revolution.

(c) Rejection in war time as in peace time of social patriotism and every form of civil peace with the Capitalist class.

(d) Support of the revolutionary struggle for emancipation by the oppressed peoples of all colonial and semi-colonial countries and the linking together of the movement of the colonial peoples for national freedom with the revolutionary struggle of the colonial workers against their exploiting class.

(e) Defence of the Social Revolution in Spain and of P.O.U.M. as its leader.

(f) Defence of the Soviet Union, land of the October Revolution, against Imperialist aggression, for the purposes of defending the conquests of this revolution by international working class action on a class basis. The advocacy of proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union.

(g) Recognition of the necessity (1) to overthrow the apparatus of the Capitalist State, and (2) to establish during the transition to Socialism revolutionary working class power—that is, a "proletarian dictatorship" which,

whilst destroying the power of the Capitalist class, provides the maximum democracy in the working class and does not repeat the errors and terror of the Stalinist régime.

11. The collaboration of Revolutionary Socialist and genuine (anti-Stalinist) Communist organisations in this manner does not mean the formation artificially of a new International. It will, however, serve as a centre for the regeneration and reconstruction of the international working-class movement and for the preparation of a Revolutionary Marxist International, under the appropriate political and organisational conditions as they develop. It will serve to stimulate and organise all the forces in the working-class movement which are preparing the way for a working-class International which shall be truly revolutionary.

12. The Conference appeals for the closest collaboration of all Revolutionary Marxist and genuine (anti-Stalinist) Communists who, without adopting the position and sectarian and fractional tactics of Trotskyism, stand for the principles of the proletarian class struggle. Such a concentration of revolutionary forces will serve as a starting point for a genuine Revolutionary International, embracing the independent revolutionary parties and groups, the revolutionary elements of the Second and Third Internationals, and those sections of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Movement which complete their progress towards Marxism.

13. This Conference asks the International Bureau immediately to consult with the Parties and Sections which accept and are prepared to apply with discipline the principles stated in Clause 10, with a view to transforming the Bureau on the lines outlined in this resolution.

14. To assist this purpose the Conference endorses the following concrete proposals and the Parties represented pledge themselves to co-operate in carrying them out, including the contribution of such financial assistance as is in their power:—

(a) The publication of a regular international news service in French, German, English and Spanish.

(b) The publication of an International Journal to discuss the problems of Revolutionary Socialist policy.

(c) The establishment of an International Fund to assist Revolutionary Socialist Parties and individuals suffering from persecution.

The Conference instructs the International Bureau to prepare immediately actual proposals regarding the above and to circularise them to all the Parties and Groups.

15. By the line of action laid down in this resolution the solidarity of all Revolutionary Socialists and genuine Communists will be developed and the way prepared for a Revolutionary Marxist International.

The Popular Front, The Workers' Front and Fascism

OPENING SPEECH BY GIACOMI (ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY)

COMRADE GIACOMI of the Italian Socialist Party opened the discussion on this subject. He said that, as he was speaking to militant, revolutionary Socialists, it was not necessary for him to over-simplify the subject. *Fascism is a manifestation of Capitalism by means of an open but indirect dictatorship.*

THE POPULAR FRONT

He examined in detail the two classical examples of the Popular Front policy as practised in France and Spain.

The French Popular Front movement was born on 6th February, 1934, and was a union of workers against the Fascist rioters. It was followed by an electoral pact composed of a *bloc* of the two workers' parties—the Socialist and Communist Parties, and the Radical Socialist Party. A victory at the polls ensued and Leon Blum took office and power. The workers, whose standard of life had been forced down by the deflationist policy of preceding Governments, demonstrated by means of the vast stay-in strikes, and the conference of the Hotel Matignon was called between workers, employers, and the Government. This resulted in the winning by the workers of the principle of collective bargaining, the 40-hour week and paid holidays, with increases in wages. It was said that this was the result of the Popular Front policy, but the historic fact is, that the Blum Government was compelled to grant these reforms owing to the mass action of the workers. *The Popular Front simply canalised the revolutionary sentiment of the*

masses into harmless channels. After eighteen months of Popular Front government it was seen that:—

1. The 40-hour week had not been applied. Many industries were working 44 to 45 and even more hours per week.

2. Collective bargaining had worked out to the disadvantage of the workers, as the arbitrators almost invariably decided against them.

3. The workers were now unable to use the strike weapon effectively because of the "arrangements" between their leaders and the employers.

4. The small increase in wages, which averaged 15 per cent., had been nullified by the great increase in the cost of living, which averaged 35 per cent.

Speaking as a trade unionist, Comrade Giacomi said: "The general condition of the workers is now worse than at the advent of the Popular Front."

BARRAGE AGAINST FASCISM

It was said that the Popular Front was a barrage against Fascism. The point to be decided was, whether Fascism was stronger now than when the Popular Front took office. There had been a great concentration of the possessing class into the General Federation of Employers led by Gignoux. This organisation always helped and subsidised local employers in their exploitation of the workers. In France there were numerous Fascist organisations, "Doriot's," "De la Roque's," the "Patriotic Youth," and the "Action Française." The influence of the great trusts, such as mines, textiles, and the "Comité des Forges," was greater than ever. It had been said that the Fascist movement in France was divided, but on the day of crisis there would be an immediate linking-up of these various sections as there had been in Germany when the "Steel Helmets" and other organisations joined forces with the Nazis. Comrade Giacomi affirmed that the French Popular Front had facilitated the growth of Fascism.

The French Army Command was honeycombed with Fascists. The Popular Front had sought to develop the nationalist conscience and was undermining internationalism. The slogans of "The Defence of the Nation" and the "Union of all Frenchmen" meant little to the class-conscious worker. The "Defence of France." Which France? Capitalist France.

Summing up his examination of the Popular Front policy in France, the speaker said it had been proved that, in such an alliance, the class-conscious spirit of the workers is sacrificed to the economic interests of capitalism.

So far as Spain was concerned, it was clear that in leaving the Army Command in the hands of the Fascists, the Popular Front facilitated the Fascist revolt, and their policy in North Africa left the Moors easy victims to the Fascist Generals. Had they given self-determination to Spanish Morocco, the Moors would never have invaded Spain. All the actions of the Popular Front Government had been to destroy the conquests of the workers and to transform the workers' fight for the Social Revolution into a defence of bourgeois democracy. Comrade Giacomi concluded by saying, "We must form a revolutionary workers' front. *No pact with the bourgeoisie, which never has and never will oppose Fascism.* This front must be ready to receive the class-conscious workers disillusioned and discouraged by the Popular Front alliance with the bourgeoisie. The mission of this congress was to clarify the issues confronting the international proletariat and to give back to the workers the confidence which the Popular Front had destroyed."

RESOLUTION II.

THE POPULAR FRONT AND THE REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE PROLETARIAT AND THE MIDDLE CLASSES

1. The Popular Front practised by the Second and Third Internationals is a form of class collaboration between the proletariat and the Liberal bourgeoisie (and the petty bourgeoisie which depends on this latter) on a Capitalist basis which subordinates and sacrifices the class interests of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie to those of monopoly Capitalism.

The consequences of this class collaboration have manifested themselves clearly in those countries which have experienced it.

These experiences show that the Popular Front is:—

(a) A brake on the workers' movement at the moment in the struggle of the workers when it becomes a serious danger to Capitalism.

(b) A weakening of the working-class movement which falls under the tutelage of the democratic parties of the bourgeoisie.

(c) Owing to the fact that Capitalism maintains all its liberty of action, the victorious struggle of the working class for its immediate economic objectives becomes a sham which can only lead the workers' movement into dangerous deceptions.

(d) The Popular Front is powerless to solve the contradictions which are inherent in Capitalism. It leads necessarily to a reinforcement of the antagonisms of this régime, to a strengthening of pro-Fascist tendencies (the impossibility of destroying the bourgeois State, army, police, administration), and thus it creates a situation which is favourable for the taking of power by Fascism.

(e) The Popular Front leads to the abandonment of support to colonial peoples and proletarians struggling for their emancipation, and in consequence it becomes a bulwark of Imperialism.

(f) It has a weakening effect on the international struggle of the proletariat.

In consequence, the Revolutionary Socialist Movement rejects the Popular Front as being absolutely contrary to the historic interests of the working class.

To Capitalism we must oppose Socialism. To the Popular Front we must oppose the United Workers' Front.

2. Faced with the contradictions of Capitalism, the working class must affirm that it is the only class capable of solving these contradictions. The indispensable condition of any revolutionary class alliance, between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie against the Capitalist class, is that the working class must remain capable of action through the formation of a united proletarian front.

The united workers' front is an alliance of working-class parties and organisations on the basis of the class struggle with a programme of partial objectives and transitory revolutionary slogans (for example, workers' control of production) as well as for the defence of the immediate interests of the proletariat against the forces of concentrated capital.

The united workers' front is an instrument of struggle of the working class. The working class must realise the solidarity of interests of all the exploited with its own interests. The conquest of power for the construction of Socialism can only be obtained under this condition.

3. It is necessary to establish in every country a programme on the following general bases, taking into consideration special conditions and the relation of the classes in each of these countries.

(a) The immediate objectives and the transitory revolutionary slogans of the proletariat.

(b) The objectives of the petty bourgeoisie which correspond to its needs and its political understanding, but including nothing which may be in contradiction with the immediate objectives, the Socialist aims and the Socialist principles of the proletariat.

The following conditions are essential:—

(1) The middle classes identify themselves with the proletariat on a programme of revolutionary class struggle, having as its aim the conquest of State power by the proletariat.

(2) The proletariat, which is the only class in Capitalist society which is revolutionary, leads the movement.

(3) The revolutionary alliance of the proletariat with the petty bourgeoisie must not include any of the bourgeois Liberal parties.

(c) As mass action develops and grows, it is necessary to translate the revolutionary aspirations of the petty bourgeoisie into concrete Socialist language (the expropriation of the large landed proprietors, which involves the giving of the land to the agricultural proletariat and to the small peasantry, the cancellation of debts, the co-operative organisation of the artisans, small industries, small farms, etc.) in combination with the fundamental objectives of the Socialist workers (Socialist and revolutionary expropriation of the important industries, the banks and the transport system).

(d) The aim of the united workers' front is to lead the proletariat in its struggle for its immediate objectives and for the transitory slogans of the revolutionary battle for the conquest of political power and Socialism, and to prepare them politically and organisationally for this object by their actual experience in the class struggle.

4. The united workers' front should be concretely built on the following bases:—

(a) Strict discipline of the action of all the organisations of which the united workers' front is composed.

(b) Complete liberty of mutual criticism and propaganda by each organisation for its objects and basic principles.

(c) The concrete forms of the organisation of this alliance will be, in principle, different and opposed to those of the Popular Front. These forms must be

elaborated in accordance with the particular conditions of each country. The fundamental principle must be that the proletarian masses and the petty bourgeoisie elect directly their common delegates (committees, councils of workers, peasants, and soldiers, etc.). It will be necessary to institute (1) the direct and constant control of the delegates by their electors; (2) the rights of the electors to replace at any moment their delegate or delegates and to elect new ones.

5. The collaboration between the workers' organisations and the anti-Fascist petty bourgeoisie, and the anti-Fascist elements of the Liberal bourgeoisie, must be limited to practical action governed by the circumstances and with a common determined objective (unity of action against terror, mutual technical and material assistance: for example, the civil war in Spain) and must have as a fundamental condition complete political independence for the one as for the other.

6. It is the duty of real Communists and Revolutionary Marxists to identify themselves with every progressive movement of the working class and to endeavour to develop such movement to a higher revolutionary level. This is only possible on the basis of a Workers' Front and a Workers' Front should be the aim of it. In circumstances where a Workers' Front has been formed with the support of the masses, and the Social-democratic and Communist Parties propose to transform it into a Popular Front, it is the duty of Revolutionary Socialists to oppose the destruction of the united Workers' Front. Revolutionary Socialist Parties as such should not participate in the Popular Front, even if formed under such conditions. Revolutionary Socialists should work in such organisations as Trades Unions, affiliated to the Popular Front, with the aim of reinforcing their independent action and thus accelerating the liquidation of the Popular Front. To obtain this object they must:—

(a) Make a concrete and profound criticism of the Popular Front policy and insist on the breaking of this policy

(b) Organise extra-Parliamentary action of the working masses for the defence of their own interests without consideration of the interests of the bourgeois Capitalists of the Popular Front. At a given moment it may be necessary to subordinate Parliamentary action to extra-Parliamentary action.

(c) Enter into a general concrete propaganda in favour of the alternative of an alliance between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie.

They must also elaborate and diffuse by propaganda methods the programme of action of this alliance and prepare the forms of organisation which will be called upon to put this programme into action.

RESOLUTION III.

THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

FASCISM is the open but indirect dictatorship of Capital. The Capitalist class renounces the exercise in a direct manner of its political power in order to save, reinforce and prolong its economic and social domination. The political dictatorship of Fascism is therefore only the instrument of the economic dictatorship of the Capitalist class.

It is necessary to bear in mind constantly what is the process of the development of Fascism:

The magnates of heavy industry, who are in all countries the principal financial supporters of Fascism, decide to finance Fascist gangs and then to use them in order to conquer power for two essential reasons:—

(a) The social conquests which the working class has obtained by its mass struggle have the effect of reducing the percentage of profit.

(b) The recurring economic crises force these magnates, despite their enormous concentration of productive possibilities, to carry on their industries or enterprises on a part-time basis, resulting in such losses that the percentage of their profit diminishes constantly.

Capital demands the destruction of all the rights and all the independent organisations of the working class, in order to increase without difficulty and without resistance Capitalist exploitation. Fascism destroys these rights and organisations, and annihilates also all the political organisations of the bourgeoisie at the same time.

Fascism utilises to a maximum all the possibilities of coercion inherent in bourgeois political power. It reduces the State to simply an apparatus of open oppression.

In extending its counter-revolutionary activity to all sections of social life and enslaving them to open violence, Fascism finally awakens against itself the revolutionary force of all the oppressed sections and the possibility of revolutionary resistance.

It is an illusion to believe that it is possible for Fascism to move on to "democratic legality." At the same time it is also an illusion to believe that revolutionary resistance against Fascism can be spontaneously produced. It must be organised in order to be victorious.

Fascism comes to power in those countries where it can create a mass basis of petty bourgeois, small peasantry and discouraged and desperate workers. In this, Fascism is distinguished from military dictatorship (Poland, Greece).

The issue of the struggle which is going on between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will be decided by the relation of their respective forces and capacities. An important problem therefore must be faced by the proletariat, namely, the transformation of the relation of these forces in its favour. This transformation of forces can only be arrived at by inducing the middle classes, who are on the road to pauperisation or are being forced into the proletariat, and who might easily become the mass base of Fascism, to enter the struggle on the side of the proletariat in its march towards the social revolution.

Fascism finds this mass basis when policies of feebleness and hesitation, arising from class collaboration and social-democratic coalition, takes from the masses their faith in the victory of Socialism and removes from the struggle numbers of workers who have become disgusted with the reformist practice both of political parties and trade unions. It also finds this mass basis when the Communist Party, because of its ultra-Left faults (Social-Fascism, splits of trade unions, etc.) has not been able to win over for Communism the masses disillusioned by reformist policy, and when it has not been successful in leading on the working class (struggling for its immediate objectives in a series of combats ever more bitterly waged) to the further fight for transitory revolutionary objectives (workers' control of production) and finally to the victorious struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is only the proletarian class struggle on the basis of a common front which can bring into the front line of the anti-Fascist revolutionary fight the other working masses,

the petty bourgeoisie, the small peasantry, the new middle class, and which can incorporate them in the organs of the common front in order that the working class shall achieve their objectives by the struggle (for example, in certain countries the repartition of land, the liquidation of taxes, and the moratorium for debts, etc.).

The Popular Front policy is simply a new edition of the bankrupt coalition policy which has opened the way to Fascism.

Fascism represents a form of reactionary violence against the progressive historic tendency towards the internationalisation and the socialisation of economy. We are, therefore, faced with two alternatives: Fascism or Socialism.

The Revolutionary Socialist Movement salutes the courageous revolutionary fighters who are continuing the struggle in Fascist countries in spite of the terror of prison, of torture and even death itself, and pledges itself to intensify its efforts to assist and help them *by all means*.

The Fight Against War

OPENING SPEECHES OF CONSANI (ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY) AND SCHWARR (I.C.O.)

THIS subject was introduced by *Comrade Consani* of the *Italian Socialist Party*. He explained to the delegates that during the Commission meetings there had been a full and open discussion, and that he had been requested to call for the support of the Congress for the Majority Report.

In his opinion the report stated in clear language the duty of Revolutionary Socialists at the present critical time in the history of the working class, and also in a war situation. It emphasised the need of continuous class action by the workers, and rejected the policies of the Second and Third Internationals, which sought to mobilise the workers behind the so-called "Democratic" Capitalist Governments against the Fascist Capitalist Governments. This could only end in another international war which might well mean the death-knell of civilisation. There was general agreement in the Commission regarding the first ten points of the resolution which outlined a comprehensive programme of action.

There had been a difference of opinion, however, regarding Point 11, particularly with reference to the workers using all means, including revolutionary defeatism, to overthrow their own Capitalist Governments. *Comrade Consani* held that the proletariat, even of a Capitalist State allied to a workers' State, must not relinquish the right to use the weapon of revolutionary defeatism, with the object of overthrowing their own Government and achieving workers' power. He could imagine a situation in which an Imperialist Power was allied to Soviet Russia; for example, in which France embarks on an aggressive war aided by Russia. What is the duty of the proletariat? He claimed that in these cases, too, the workers should not allow themselves to be

tied to the Imperialist or Capitalist designs of their own bourgeoisie, but should seize the first available opportunity of transforming the war into a revolutionary struggle for workers' power. The Majority Report was based upon the original I.L.P. statement, with two modifications, and he asked Congress to support it.

Comrade Schwarr of the I.C.O. moved the insertion of paragraph 10a in the Majority Report. The amendment was necessary to clarify the issues. In his opinion a Socialist State is justified in making alliances, on the definite conditions that such alliances strengthen the defence of the proletarian revolution in its own country and weaken the Capitalist opponent, and further, that the revolutionary class struggle in the allied Capitalist State is strengthened.

We must remember that both Lenin and Trotsky accepted alliances *under certain clearly-defined conditions*, and a Socialist State should reserve its full right to conclude alliances which were based upon the conditions outlined in the amendment.

The report and the amendment were thoroughly discussed by the delegates present and, upon a vote being taken, the amendment was carried and therefore included in the final resolution.

RESOLUTION IV.

THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR

THE Revolutionary Socialist Movement rejects the policies of the Second and Third Internationals which aim at lining up the working class behind the so-called democratic Capitalist Governments against the Fascist Capitalist Governments and which would commit the working class in the former countries (a) to suspend the class struggle in favour of national unity, (b) to identify themselves with the Imperialism of their ruling class, and (c) to support rearmament and war under Capitalist Governments.

In opposition to this policy, the Revolutionary Socialist Movement declares for the following programme of action:

1. The rejection of all proposals for unity with sections of the Capitalist class or any Capitalist Government in either war preparations or the prosecution of war.
2. Opposition to any collaboration with any Capitalist Government or with the employing class in the fulfilment of rearmament programmes.
3. The struggle against the idea of bourgeois patriotism, accepted today by parties which proclaim themselves to be proletarian and Marxist, which can only have the effect of creating a national patriotic spirit in the working class and destroy all international solidarity.
4. The exposure of the illusion that peace can be maintained by any "Collective System of Peace" operated by Governments in a Capitalist world and, above all, by the League of Nations, which is simply the expression of the interests of a group of Imperialist States.
5. The recognition of the class struggle as the basis upon which the fight against war policies, war preparations and war itself must always be carried on, and the stimulation of working-class determination to act both politically and industrially through its own class organisations.
6. In particular, the development of working-class determination to meet the threat of war by organised mass

resistance by any and every means; including the use of the strike weapon, for the purpose not only of preventing war, but of overthrowing Capitalist Governments and securing working-class power.

7. The maintenance of the class struggle in the event of war taking place and the use of the first opportunity resulting from discontent, war-weariness, or economic or social crisis, to end the war by the seizure of working-class power.

8. In the event of an attack by a Capitalist Government or a group of Capitalist Governments on Soviet Russia or any other Workers' State which may be established, it will be the duty of the working class in the Capitalist countries concerned to resist the war with all the means in their power, and in other countries to resist all support from their Governments to the attacking Capitalist countries, particularly by organised refusal to make, handle or transport any war materials to such countries.

9. In the event of a civil war against the Capitalist class in any country or countries, it will be the duty of the working class in other countries to resist all support from their Governments to the Capitalist forces concerned, particularly by organised refusal to make, handle or transport war materials to such countries.

10. In the circumstances stated in 8 and 9 it will be the duty of Revolutionary Socialists in countries not directly involved in the conflict to assist the anti-Capitalist forces by all means possible, to demand that war materials be made available for them, and to prepare their working class to carry on resistance to any aid to the Capitalist side to the point of the overthrow of their own Capitalist Governments.

10a. A Socialist State, owing to the weakness of the International Revolutionary Movement, may find it necessary to make alliances with Capitalist (that is, Imperialist) States, under the following conditions:—

(a) That such alliances strengthen the defence of the proletarian revolution in its own country and weaken the Capitalist opponent.

(b) That the revolutionary class struggle in the allied Capitalist countries is not thereby limited nor repressed but on the contrary sharpened.

The question of the alliance of a Socialist State with a group of Imperialist States must be judged by the same principle.

11. In the event of a war between two Capitalist countries, or two groups of Capitalist countries (even if a Workers' State is part of one of the groups), it will be the duty of the working class of other countries, not excluding that of a Capitalist State allied to a Workers' State, to concentrate on the task of overthrowing their own Capitalist Governments, using all means, including revolutionary defeatism. If and when workers' power has been achieved it will be a Revolutionary Socialist duty to judge the situation objectively from a class point of view and to decide whether action in support of one side in the war is then desirable in order to make the working-class force the dominating factor.

If Workers' States are involved in the war, it will be the duty of any working-class Government to go to their assistance, whilst refusing to be committed to the war aims of any Capitalist allies which they may have.

12. In the event of an attack by an Imperialist Government on a subject people, it will be the duty of the working class to take all possible action in support of the subject people, including organised action to refuse war materials to the Imperialist Government concerned. In taking such action the working class must be careful (a) not to identify themselves with the interests of some rival Imperialism rather than those of the subject people, and (b) not to strengthen any leadership of a subject people whose interests are against the emancipation of the working and peasant populations.

Imperialism, and the Japanese War on China

OPENING SPEECH OF GEORGE PADMORE (AFRICAN WORKERS' PARTY)

GEORGE PADMORE of the African Workers' Party said he had great pleasure in moving the two resolutions. The Colonial Resolution pledged support to the oppressed subject peoples in their struggle for national independence. But national independence is not an end in itself. It is merely a step towards Socialism.

The true allies of the workers in the governing countries are the workers of the subject peoples. Their interests are identical—namely, the overthrow of all sections of the exploiting classes.

The subject peoples had little reason to have faith in the International Working-Class Movement. The Second International had never pretended to accept the right of self-determination for the oppressed races. At the best it had advocated a vague Liberal Imperialism with reliance on the League of Nations and the mandate system. *The British Labour Government and the French Popular Front Governments had simply proved themselves to be administrators of Imperialism—perpetuating within the British and the French Empires the worst evils of Capitalist domination.*

But the disappointment of the Colonial workers with the Second International was nothing to their utter disillusionment with the Communist International. At the first congress of the Third International it had declared that it stood for the absolute independence of all subject peoples. Now we find that in the British, and particularly the French, Empires, the Communist Party was openly supporting the most repressive measures of Imperialism. In North Africa

the French Popular Front Government had imprisoned and shot most of the leaders of the Colonial workers and all their organisations had been suppressed. Their policy was the same as had been that of the British Labour Party in relation to India.

The Spanish Popular Front Government, in failing to grant independence to the Moors, had aided Franco, and the tragedy was that the price was being paid today in the blood of the Spanish proletariat. The Moors should have been behind the people of Spain now, not fighting in the ranks of the Fascists.

The Colonial peoples ask three questions. The Governments of London and Paris would have to reply, the Second and Third Internationals would have to act:—

1. Will you grant a moratorium for all peasant debts?
2. Will you release the tens of thousands of Colonial political prisoners?
3. Will you legalise the workers' organisations?

These are simply the elementary rights of citizenship. The subject peoples were tired of phrases and promises. They wanted action.

"The fight was not between the workers of Britain or France and the oppressed of North Africa and India. It was between Capitalism, sometimes 'democratic' at home but rampant abroad, and all the workers—white or coloured. Like a Colossus, Capitalism bestrode all countries. One foot on the home workers and the other on the native."

Turning to the resolution, Comrade Padmore said that it was worthy of the wholehearted support of Congress. It was proposed in paragraph 7 to re-create an anti-Imperialist movement "to link together the working class of the Capitalist countries with the national liberation movements and particularly with the workers' and peasants' organisations in the colonial countries." He looked upon the London Bureau as the medium through which this movement could be built up which would bring renewed hope and courage to the oppressed coloured races—victims of Imperialism.

Regarding the resolution on the Japanese aggression, George Padmore gave it one hundred per cent. support. "As Colonial peoples, we extend the utmost solidarity to the Chinese peasants and workers." In this case *colour was subordinated to class*. "The yellow Imperialist Japanese of the East were the allies of the white Capitalists of the West. *East had met West* in Imperialist exploitation."

The document called on the workers to take independent class action. No reliance on the League of Nations—the *harbour of Capitalist loot*. The subject peoples were weary and mournful. Too long had they waited. They looked towards their brothers, the white workers. "May they not look in vain."

DELEGATES FROM COLONIAL COUNTRIES

AT the conclusion of Comrade Padmore's address, the Conference decided to enter into special session to listen to the delegates of the Colonial organisations.

The organisations represented were:—

1. *The Senegal League for the Defence of the Blacks.*
2. *The Indo-Chinese Colonial Union.*
3. *The Madagascar National Liberation Society.*
4. *The Pondicherry Native Trade Unions.*

The delegate from *Senegal* explained the differences which existed between the Western European countries and North Africa. Senegal had no industry and little commerce. The differences in class were not on a financial but on a family basis. They were seeking to suppress this class difference. Africa needed help particularly in the way of news services and publicity. All news was censored and suppressed by the French authorities. The conditions were worse than under Laval or Tardieu, because in those days they could at least find an echo in the French working-class parties. These parties were now chained to the Popular Front. Monsieur Moutet had said, before taking office, that "all blacks have equal rights with whites." This had turned out to be absolutely untrue. The native blacks had no rights, and were treated as slaves. The only approach to

equality was when the Senegalese were conscripted into the French Imperial Army. He looked with hope to this Congress as making a decisive advance in the linking-up of really revolutionary forces.

The *Indo-Chinese* delegate said we must study the question objectively. Both the Second and Third Internationals had betrayed the Colonial workers. The most the Second International had ever advocated was a progressive development of the subject peoples within the Empire. Social Democracy has always been against self-determination and national liberty.

In the case of the Third International, the betrayal was more flagrant. It was engaged in an interior propaganda to make the coloured workers assist Soviet Russia in the next war. They were trying to build a "National Union" in the Colonies. A "National Union" for the defence of the Empire, which would mean the sacrifice of thousands of natives as cannon fodder in the event of war.

The subject peoples would have no "National Union" with their Capitalist oppressors. Their hope lay in revolutionary Nationalism leading to Socialism, which meant the emancipation of all workers, white or coloured.

The delegate from *Madagascar* was a French comrade. He said he was speaking as a "white Negro." He had spent 30 years in agitation in Madagascar and four years in prison. The natives of Madagascar had been a free people before they were enslaved by French Imperialism. Before the Popular Front in France they had contacts with the Left Parties and the Communist Party. Thorez had said in 1932, "We are with you against France." But now the Communist Party had changed its line to suit the foreign policy of Moscow, and had abandoned them.

At the advent of the Popular Front they thought France was waking up and that at last they would obtain justice. The speaker had been sent by his comrades to interview M. Moutet in order to put forward the claims of the natives. He asked the Minister what the Popular Front was going to do for Madagascar. M. Moutet replied, "The Popular

Front did not put me here to cause trouble in Madagascar. You are simply an agitator."

The speaker concluded, "We have no one on whom to rely now but ourselves. And this Congress is the first gleam of light we have had for many years."

The *Pondicherry* delegate reiterated the speeches of Padmore and the other delegates, and supported the two resolutions which were before the Congress. He specially emphasised the need for cultural development in all races, as each has a contribution to make. They claimed national independence as a step forward towards proletarian solidarity as the basis for Socialism.

At the conclusion of the speeches of the Colonial delegates, messages were read as follows from organisations which were unable to be present:—

From the All India Congress Socialist Party:—

**COPY OF LETTER FROM THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS
SOCIALIST PARTY**

Bombay, 6th February, 1938

Dear Comrade,

I am very happy to send to the International Conference of Revolutionary Socialists which is meeting in Paris this month, my warm greetings and wishes for its success. The need for concerted action by Revolutionary Socialists functioning to-day in different countries and in different sections of the working class movement is, indeed, pressing.

I am glad that the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity which is organising this Conference, has put in the forefront of its manifesto support for the struggle for freedom of the oppressed peoples in all colonial and semi-colonial countries and their right to self-determination. The hope for Socialism lies undoubtedly in the linking up of the struggle of the colonial peoples for national independence and the overthrow of Imperialism with the struggle of the working class in the West against Capitalism. These are struggles on different fronts, but against the same enemy.

I hope the Congress will result in greater unity among Revolutionary Socialists and more intense activity in furtherance of the basic principles of the Conference.

Yours fraternally,

M. R. MASANI,

Joint Secretary,

All India Congress Socialist Party.

From the Star of North Africa (Algeria):—

LETTER FROM THE STAR OF NORTH AFRICA, ALGERIA.

15th February, 1938

Dear Comrade,

I am sorry that it is impossible for me to come to the International Conference which is being held by the London Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity, at which the delegates will examine the colonial question.

I would like to give you certain information regarding our country of Algeria, and particularly regarding our Party which you have been good enough to invite to your Conference.

The Party has as its aim the emancipation of the Algerian people and desires to set up in Algeria an autonomous government similar to the dominions in the British Empire. In our struggle to attain this objective we advocate alliances with the international proletariat and also the French proletariat. We have to state, however, that the Left French political parties have not always been sincere in their attitude to the Algerian people. For example, the Star of North Africa, a Left North African organisation, which adhered to the Popular Front, has been dissolved by the Popular Front Government. This organisation had participated in all the working class anti-Fascist manifestations.

In spite of this betrayal by the Popular Front Government, the Algerian people are still sincerely attached to the democratic cause, and it is for this reason that our party continues the struggle alongside of the working masses of France. In our opinion Fascism is exemplified by the Imperialism which has oppressed us for more than a century. To-day in Algeria the colonial administration has entered into a period of ferocious oppression towards the Algerians. Our Party has been specially subject to these attacks. Seven members of the Party, including our President, have been condemned to two years' imprisonment, and this without being treated as political prisoners. More than two hundred accusations have been made against members of our Party, all of which accusations are absolutely without foundation and have been made with the object of stifling the voice of our unfortunate people. All this under a Government said to be "Popular Front." When we were compelled to raise our voices in criticism of the Government, the Communists at once stigmatised us as Fascists, agents of Hitler, of Mussolini, etc., in order to justify a shameful oppression which is being carried out in Algeria.

But in spite of all the political changes of those parties which, not so long ago advocated the total independence of the colonies, we keep our faith in the international revolutionary proletariat, and we are certain that finally this proletarian revolutionary unity will liberate the suppressed peoples from the gigantic evil of Imperialism.

THE STAR OF NORTH AFRICA.

The discussion was continued during the session, many delegates taking part, and the official reporter, George Padmore, wound up the debate by thanking the Congress for its practical unanimity and asking it to vote on the two resolutions.

Fenner Brockway said that this session had been one of the most encouraging of the whole Congress. George Padmore had been the International African representative in the Executive Committee of the Comintern, and he had resigned when the Communist Party changed its line, as he was determined to carry on relentlessly the struggle of the Colonial workers. The subject people could look to the Revolutionary Socialists associated with the London Bureau to link up and co-ordinate the efforts of all workers' and peasants' Colonial organisations into 'a centre of anti-Imperialist activity.

RESOLUTION V.

THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM

1. Modern Imperialism, both in its political and economic aspects, is the outcome of Capitalism. To participate in the struggle against Imperialism and to direct this struggle towards the overthrow of Capitalism is a first duty of the Revolutionary Socialist Movement.

2. It is, therefore, necessary to expose and fight against every open or hidden defence of Imperialist domination. This applies not only to the traditional Socialist-Imperialist attitude of the Second International, but also to the present attitude of the Communist International.

3. The right of subject peoples to national independence must be recognised and support given to this claim even when it is put forward by national organisations of a bourgeois character.

4. But the establishment of national independence can never be regarded as an end in itself. If national independence is secured whilst the bourgeois class remains politically dominant, the economic subjection of the workers and peasants will continue. It is, therefore, imperative that the Revolutionary Socialist movement should assist the organisation of the workers and peasants in Trades Unions and Peasants' Unions and the formation of Socialist Parties in the colonial countries, in order to fight against not only the alien Imperialism, but the possessing class as a whole, whether belonging to an alien race or their own.

5. It is the duty of the workers' and peasants' organisations in the colonial countries, whilst participating in the general struggle for national independence, to maintain the independence of their own organisations without compromising their class struggle against the possessing class. As the crisis of Capitalism develops, the struggles against Imperialism and for the Social Revolution become increasingly inseparable. The workers' and peasants' organisations must therefore not so identify themselves with bourgeois organisations in the national liberation movement as to lose

the opportunity of carrying forward the fight against Imperialism to the stage of Social Revolution.

6. Neither the Second nor Third Internationals are conducting the struggle against Imperialism in accordance with these principles.

7. The Second International fosters the delusion that the change from political and economic subjection to political and economic freedom can be made through constitutional development, and it has substituted the Mandates System of the League of Nations for the objective of National Independence.

8. The Third International has sacrificed the vital interests of the Colonial Movement in many countries. This has been done sometimes for reasons of internal struggle in the Russian Bolshevik Party and more recently for reasons of Soviet diplomacy. Particularly during the last three years the Third International has surrendered the fight against Imperialism wherever it conflicts with the present foreign policy of Soviet Russia.

9. Soviet Russia seeks alliances with the Powers whose Imperialist desires are satisfied, and therefore the Third International has subdued its support of the anti-Imperialist movement within their Empires. This is particularly illustrated by (a) the withdrawal of support for the anti-Imperialist and revolutionary struggle within the Colonial territories of France, with whom Soviet Russia has an alliance, and (b) the limitation of the struggle in China to an anti-Imperialist war against Japan and the abandonment of the revolutionary programme of class struggle. This latter development has arisen from the fact that Japan is a potential enemy of Russia and social revolution would antagonise the allies of Russia, such as France, and other countries, such as Britain, which Russia looks upon as possible allies.

10. The Popular Front policy, supported by parties of the Second and Third Internationals, has had as an inevitable consequence the betraying of the struggle of Colonial

peoples oppressed by Popular Front Governments. This is shown by:—

(a) The policy of the Spanish Government. Had it been possible for the Popular Front Government to declare for the right of self-determination by the Moorish people and to do something to assist the revolutionary movement of the Moors (events in French and Spanish Morocco testify to its extent), the seizure of Morocco by the Franco reaction and the enrolment of the Moors in the counter-revolutionary army could have been seriously hindered and perhaps completely prevented. But the Popular Front Governments of Azana, Caballero and Negrin were unable to make such decisions because of their relations with the Spanish, British and French Imperialists. Only the revolution could carry out such a policy.

(b) The attitude of the French Popular Front Government in continuing the exploitation of the Colonial peoples under French Imperialism (North Africa, Indo-China, Madagascar, Pondicherry, and West Equatorial Africa).

11. In these circumstances it is the duty of the Revolutionary Socialist Movement to re-create an International anti-Imperialist Movement which will link together the working class of the Capitalist countries with the national liberation movements, and particularly with the workers' and peasants' organisations in the Colonial countries.

12. In those Colonies where workers' organisations exist contact should be made with the national liberation movement through the workers' organisations. In those Colonies where the workers' and peasants' organisations are divided by racial barriers, contact should be made with each and efforts made to bring them together in their common fight for national independence and the Social Revolution.

13. In the Imperialist countries the Revolutionary Socialist Movement must (a) continually expose the rôle of their Governments in suppressing the liberties of the subject peoples within their Empires; (b) demand the withdrawal of the Imperialist armed forces from the Colonial countries and assert the right of these peoples to indepen-

dence; (c) associate the struggle against Imperialism with the struggle against poverty as a reason for the overthrow of their Capitalist Governments, explaining to the workers that the Imperialists by exploiting the Colonial peoples derive super-profits with which they reinforce the Capitalist system at home and corrupt certain sections of the working class (the labour aristocracy).

14. The active co-operation of the Revolutionary Socialist Movement in developed countries and in Colonial countries is made more and not less necessary by the tactic of the Fascist Powers in seeking to win the sympathy of the revolting subject peoples within the Empires of the satiated Imperialist Powers. The way to meet this danger is not to withdraw support from the anti-Imperialist struggle, as the Second and Third Internationals tend to do, but to intensify such support, warning the subject peoples that all Capitalist Governments, "democratic" and Fascist alike, are a menace to their political and economic liberty.

RESOLUTION VI.

THE JAPANESE WAR ON CHINA

1. The Revolutionary Socialist Movement denounces the aggression of the Japanese Capitalist Government on China and declares its solidarity with the Chinese workers and peasants in their resistance to Japanese Imperialism.

2. It endorses the lead given by all sections of the working class movement for the refusal to purchase Japanese goods so long as Japanese military action continues, but urges that this should be supplemented by the organised refusal to make, handle or transport materials of war for Japan. It congratulates those sections of the working class which have taken action along those lines.

3. The Second International and the International Federation of Trades Unions have refused, despite their own declarations, to call upon the working class to take independent class action on behalf of the Chinese people and have sabotaged independent action already taken by the workers. Instead they have been content to make an appeal to Capitalist Governments and the Capitalist-dominated League of Nations to apply sanctions against Japan.

4. The Revolutionary Socialist Movement declares that this policy of appealing to Capitalist Governments and the Capitalist League, which has also been advocated by the Communist International, is wrong in principle and is dangerous in practice. It is wrong in principle because it identifies the working class with the apparatus of the Capitalist State instead of encouraging the workers to act in their own strength and through their own organisations. It is dangerous in practice because any action by the Capitalist Governments or the Capitalist League of Nations would be in Capitalist interests. We, therefore, call upon the working class to apply independent working class sanctions by refusing to transport commodities that will assist Japan in her Imperialist aims.

5. Whilst the Revolutionary Socialist Movement expresses solidarity with the Chinese workers and peasants, it places

no confidence in Chiang-Kai-Shek or the other leaders of the Kuomintang, who have a record of brutal suppression of the working class movement. A victory for the National Government of China would not in itself mean the liberation of the Chinese people. It would still be necessary for the peasants and workers of China to overthrow their own feudal lords, war lords and Capitalists.

6. Accordingly, the Revolutionary Socialist Movement denounces the action of the Chinese Communist Party in completely identifying itself with the Chinese National Government and repudiating its demands on behalf of the workers and peasants and its Socialist aims. The working class of other countries must be prepared to give support to the Chinese workers and peasants in their further struggle against their own feudal, military and capitalist classes, and must resist any intervention by Capitalist Governments for the partition of China or for the suppression of the Social Revolution in China.

7. The working class of other countries must, at the same time, give support to the Chinese peasants in their agrarian revolution, which is an indispensable condition of their alliance with the proletariat in their battle against Imperialism and for the Social Revolution.

8. The Revolutionary Socialist Movement, while denouncing Japanese Imperialism and calling upon the workers to render the maximum support to the Chinese people, at the same time points out that the Imperialist powers, by exploiting China has weakened the Chinese people in their present struggle against Japan. We demand the withdrawal of all Imperialist troops, naval and military forces, from China.

9. The Revolutionary Socialist Movement greets the heroic Socialists in Japan, and particularly the Japanese Proletarian Party, who have maintained resistance to the military designs of their Imperialists. It salutes them in prison and as they face death, and calls on the working class everywhere to demonstrate solidarity with them by intensifying the international struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism and for Workers' Power and Socialism.

The Struggle in Spain

OPENING SPEECH BY SOGAS (P.O.U.M.)

COMRADE SOGAS, of the Spanish Workers' Party of Marxist Unity, opened the discussion on Spain. He said he would have preferred that the P.O.U.M. were more fully represented but the delegates knew the reason. The comrades of the Executive Committee were in the Government prisons and Joaquin Maurin was a prisoner in the hands of the Fascists.

He dealt at length with the historic developments which had preceded the Fascist rebellion in Spain, and stated that the P.O.U.M. realised at the outset the reason which impelled the workers to take up arms spontaneously against Fascism, was not to maintain the existing bourgeois republic, but to fight for a workers' Spain and for Socialism. He stressed the fact that the Republican Government refused to arm the workers in the July days, and the resistance to Fascism was a genuine proletarian class action on the part of the Spanish workers and peasants.

The Conference was well aware of the continuous help which had been given to Franco by International Fascism, and without this assistance the Spanish workers would themselves have liberated Spain. But a workers' Spain was an anathema to British and French Imperialism, which preferred even the possibility of a Fascist Spain.

He claimed that the revolutionary activity of the P.O.U.M., both at the front against Fascism, and at the rear in organising the bases of workers' control, was in line with Revolutionary Socialist thought and action.

The principal slogans of the P.O.U.M. should be embodied in the resolution and were, in his opinion, indispensable to victory. They were:—

1. The formation of a Workers' and Peasants' Government.

2. The formation of a Red Army of Workers and Peasants under a Revolutionary Command.
3. Workers' control of the police.
4. The Socialisation of large capitalist enterprises.
5. The expropriation and the collective control and exploitation of the land.
6. The planning of the collective enterprises of the country.
7. The granting of full liberty to the Moorish people of Spanish Morocco.

He protested with the utmost vigour against the suppression of the P.O.U.M. and the imprisonment of its leaders. *The accusations of the Communist International were now recognised by all as being baseless slanders, and the only result of the persecution of the P.O.U.M. had been to weaken anti-Fascist resistance.* The best possible stimulus which could be given to the fight against Fascism would be the immediate liberation of *all* anti-Fascist prisoners, including the P.O.U.M., the C.N.T./F.A.I., and the Left of the U.G.T. and Socialist Party.

The speaker criticised very strongly the line of the Communist International, the Communist Party of Spain and the United Socialist Communist Party of Catalonia, all of which had formed an alliance with the Spanish bourgeois republican parties. The effect of this alliance had been to destroy the revolutionary conquests of the workers, to stimulate the latent forces of Capitalism in Republican Spain and to gravely compromise the fight against Franco.

The Spanish workers, in spite of the historic blunders of the above parties, were determined to fight to the end, and Comrade Sogas advocated, as the best means of organising and stimulating revolutionary forces, the following immediate measures:—

1. A revolutionary alliance between the P.O.U.M., C.N.T./F.A.I., the Left Wing of the U.G.T. and the Socialist Party, with the declared object of accomplishing the proletarian revolution and the continuation of the war against Fascism till victory had been achieved.

2. A direct alliance between the proletariat, the small peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, excluding all bourgeois exploiting parties or organisations. This alliance should be controlled by committees of delegates of the proletariat and the lower middle classes, and would have the unanimous backing of all the genuine revolutionary forces in Spain.

Comrade Sogas stated that the Popular Front Government, because of its inherent defects and its mistaken belief that assistance could be obtained from the so-called "democratic" countries, had proved itself to be absolutely unworthy of the confidence of the Spanish workers. By its toleration of the Secret Police in Spain, which was responsible for the imprisonment and the death of thousands of anti-Fascist workers, it had divided and weakened the only force capable of saving Spain, namely, revolutionary proletarian unity. By its continued policy of counter-revolutionary measures it had proved itself to be an obstacle to the victory over Fascism, and it was the duty of the Revolutionary Socialists assembled in this Conference to declare to the international proletariat that the gravity of the situation was such as to justify the immediate formation of a genuine Workers' and Peasants' Government—the indispensable prelude to a workers' victory.

In conclusion, he declared that the P.O.U.M., though suppressed and its leaders imprisoned, was the most respected workers' party in Spain, and the Spanish proletariat, in increasing numbers, was now realising that its revolutionary message and teaching was their final hope.

RESOLUTION VII.

THE STRUGGLE IN SPAIN

I.

THE Conference places on record its agreement in principle, without reserve, with the fundamental political line of the Spanish Workers' Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.) in the civil war and the Spanish Revolution. In the interests of a victorious struggle against military Fascism, the proletarian revolution of the 19th July, 1936, should be pursued energetically to victory.

The Conference declares its complete solidarity with the principal watchwords of the P.O.U.M. as follows:

(a) The formation of a Workers' and Peasants' Government. The demand for the calling of a Constituent Assembly formed of delegates of workers', peasants' and soldiers' committees to replace the Rump Parliament, which should be dissolved.

(b) The formation of a Red Army of Workers and Peasants under a united Revolutionary Command, the officer class of which should be recruited specially from the proletariat and with a constant control of the responsible military posts by workers', peasants' and soldiers' organisations.

(c) The police to be entirely under the control of the armed workers.

(d) The complete and definite socialisation without compensation of the large capitalist enterprises under the combined control of the organs of power of the working-class, the Trades Unions and the workshop committees.

(e) The nationalisation of the land. The definite expropriation, without compensation, of all the large landed proprietors, the placing of the land at the disposal of the agricultural workers and the small peasantry by means of collective or individual exploitation as they shall freely desire; appropriate measures for breaking the economic power of the rich peasants and of preventing them forming a base for the counter-revolution.

(f) The planning of the collective enterprises of the coun-

try and assistance by the State to these collectives; The help of the State to be given to the small peasants who are in need.

(g) The abandonment of the colonial domination by Spain of Morocco; full liberty to be given to the Moorish peoples of Spanish Morocco to work out their own destiny.

The Conference is convinced that in the new and ascending stage of the Spanish Revolution those watchwords should govern the action of the proletariat for the assumption of power.

II.

The Conference condemns the line which has been adopted by the Communist International, the Communist Party of Spain, the United Socialist-Communist Party of Catalonia (P.S.U.C.), and the Right Wing of the Spanish Socialist Party—the line of coalition with the republican bourgeoisie, of suppression of the revolutionary conquests of the 19th of July, of restoration of the Parliamentary bourgeois republic, and the apparatus of the bourgeois state and capitalist economy. This policy is counter-revolutionary and dangerous for the successful conduct of the war against Spanish and International Fascism and compromises even the bourgeois republic which it is supposed to defend.

III.

The Conference condemns with the utmost energy the terror which has been practised by the parties and organisations of the Government Coalition under the direction of the Stalinists against the revolutionary workers of the P.O.U.M., of the C.N.T./F.A.I., and the Left-Wing of the U.G.T. and the Socialist Party.

The Conference denounces with indignation and contempt the calumnies which have been published against the P.O.U.M., and calls upon all the really revolutionary elements of the international working-class movement energetically to protest against these calumnies and to do all they possibly can to combat this terror and to call to account those who are responsible.

IV.

Instead of the Popular Front there should be established:

(a) A revolutionary alliance between the parties, organisations, tendencies and sections of the proletariat, P.O.U.M., C.N.T./F.A.I., the left wing of the U.G.T. and the Socialist Party, who are prepared to struggle:

- against the cancellation of the revolutionary conquests of the workers and peasants;
- against the democratic bourgeois counter-revolution;
- for the carrying-out and the accomplishment of the proletarian revolution and for the continuation of the war against Fascism until victory has been achieved,

(b) A direct alliance of the proletariat with the other sections of the workers (small peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie who do not exploit the workers) by means of committees of delegates of the proletariat and the lower middle classes. This alliance would not include the bourgeois republican parties.

V.

The Conference supports the P.O.U.M., which, while on the one hand rejecting political collaboration with the bourgeoisie and its parties, has always been prepared, on the other hand, for technical collaboration, in the interests of the organisation of military resistance against Franco, with all those prepared to serve sincerely in the cause of the armed struggle against Fascism.

The Conference supports the P.O.U.M., which has always rejected the propaganda of defeatism in the ranks of the Spanish anti-Fascists as being counter-revolutionary.

VI.

The Popular Front Government (owing to its policy of the restoration of Capitalism and of the counter-revolution) has shown itself to be the principal obstacle to the military victory over Franco. The victory over Fascism is bound up with the revolutionary liquidation of the Popular Front and its Government, with the conquest of political power by the proletariat and with the carrying on and accomplishment of the proletarian revolution.

VII.

Socialist reformism and Stalinism have played an open counter-revolutionary rôle in Spain. Although the Anarchists have been in the front ranks of the armed struggle against Fascism and for the Revolution, the influence of the Anarchist ideology on large masses of the Spanish revolutionary and militant proletarians has also shown itself to be an obstacle to the taking of power by the proletariat.

VIII.

In the present situation the task which confronts the Spanish working-class is the struggle for its immediate needs, such as the re-establishment of the democratic rights of the workers and their organisations (liberty of organisation, of the press, of public meetings, etc.); the defence of the revolutionary conquests (defence of collectivisation, of workshop control, etc.); the amelioration of the conditions of life of the working masses in opposition to the efforts of the country-revolutionary democratic-bourgeoisie to throw the burden of the war against Franco on to the backs of the workers and against speculation and the privileges of the upper bureaucracy of the Republican Bourgeois State.

IX.

The struggle for these partial and immediate objectives, and the victories achieved in these struggles, which will be linked up with action on behalf of transitory political watchwords (as, for example, "C.N.T.-U.G.T. Government") and with a continuous propaganda for the victory of the masses on the basis of the slogans of the proletarian revolution mentioned above, will give back to the Spanish proletariat confidence in its own class forces, will prepare in this way the new revolutionary upsurge, and will mobilise the masses for the aims of the proletarian revolution and the conquest of power.

The working masses in the territory occupied by Fascist troops have the duty of contributing by all means to the disintegration of the front and of the rear of Franco and the military defeat of Fascism.

X.

The Conference thanks the Soviet people for the help given to the armed struggle against Fascism in Spain. It regrets that this help was only given by the U.S.S.R. after two months of hesitation, which played into the hands of world-wide Imperialism.

The Conference energetically condemns the blackmail which the Stalinist bureaucracy has exercised, by means of the arms sold to the Spanish people, to impose a reign of terror against the advanced workers and a counter-revolutionary policy.

XI.

The Conference calls upon the workers of the "democratic" countries, Britain and France, to oppose with the utmost energy and perseverance the Spanish policy of their governments, a policy which helps indirectly Fascism in Spain and which desires to bring about a shameful compromise in favour of Fascism and to vanquish the proletarian revolution. It calls upon the workers to use all their efforts to unmask the plot of the international capitalists against the Spanish proletariat and to assist to the best of their ability both materially and morally the workers of Spain in their struggle. (Down with the policy of Non-Intervention! Acroplanes, cannons and munitions for Revolutionary Spain!)

XII.

The workers of all countries should prevent the despatch of all material which can be used by the Spanish Fascists in the conducting of the war. They should organise mass protests against any granting of credits in favour of Franco.

The Conference calls upon the workers of Germany and Italy to do all they can to denounce before the masses of their own countries, and, above all, in the army and navy, the Imperialist aims of the intervention of their Governments in Spain; to struggle by all means against the support which their Governments give to Spanish Fascism and to arouse and organise the active sympathy of the masses of their own country for the revolutionary anti-Fascist struggle of the Spanish peasants and workers.

Soviet Russia

COMRADE FRANZ, of the German S.A.P., opened the discussion on Soviet Russia. He said that the workers of all countries were disturbed when the first Moscow Trials took place. They realised that there must be a profound crisis in Russia and this feeling of apprehension was deepened when it was known that thousands of workers in Russia had been removed from political life, imprisoned or even executed.

He agreed wholeheartedly with Comrade Padmore regarding the crimes which had been committed under the Popular Front in colonial countries, but in Russia it was a different problem from that of the Popular Front in France.

In his opinion, the Soviet Union was based on the October Revolution and there were three points to be borne in mind:

- (a) There is no exploiting class;
- (b) The industries are nationalised;
- (c) A new type of collectivised peasantry exists.

There were certain phrases in the resolution with which he was not in complete agreement but it was clear that we were seeing, in Russia, the extermination of a whole generation of Socialists.

There exists a big working class which has grown up amidst great industrial and agricultural development but which is living under bad economic conditions. Is this a contradiction to the view that Russia is approaching Socialism? In his opinion this was not so.

It cannot be denied that the Soviet organs of the working-class and of the Government have been destroyed. The Trades Unions have lost their real purpose and character which they had in Lenin's time. There are organs of defence of the workers against the State as an employer, but the Trades Unions tend to become organs which chain the workers. There is no Communist Party—it is neither "Communist" nor is it a "Party." Lenin is still quoted but only lip-service is rendered. There is no internal life in the Party. It is simply an apparatus conducted by a thin layer of leadership. The Party has ceased to be the controlling force of the State. *It has become an instrument of the State.* He was forced to the conclusion that the working-class had ceased to be a governing power.

Is Russia a proletarian State? This was an abstract definition and no straight and simple reply could be given. Two points were, in his opinion, incontestable: 1, that the foundation of the October Revolution remained, and 2, that the Working Class had been deprived of power.

There are still two classes in Russia — workers and peasants.

Collectivisation has produced a higher type of peasant but there has also been a return to an individualist economy and within the collectives a development of class division has taken place. There are rich and poor divisions.

Comrade Franz quite realised the necessity for changing tactics in Russia, but was it possible to stop the developments which gravely disturbed the International Proletariat? He believed it was possible, but would become increasingly difficult as Russian consciousness became habituated to a system of repression. These developments themselves were not the only phenomena—there were other matters of paramount importance to be considered.

An upper stratum has developed, which is called "Bureaucracy." This is too vague. Concretely it is the State officials, the Party officials and the upper highly-paid sections of industry and the professions. This class has strong self-consciousness and power. It looks upon itself

as being the guardian and defender of the State. There is great concentration of power in its hands.

This stratum stands above the people. It has lost touch with the International Working Class and is characterised by patriotism—illustrated in the new type of education in schools and in family life.

Russia is full of contradictions. Despite the criticism which the speaker had made, he believed there was development towards Socialism, but the ruling stratum wants to maintain the *status quo*. It is conservative. It stands on the basis of the October revolution but in its outlook it is reactionary.

This is a traditional stage in a reactionary world. *Lenin knew how to make retreats but he knew how not to forget the ultimate aim of Socialism and he knew the limits of retreat.* These two features are not in existence in Soviet Russia. The aim is to build Socialism in one country. Fenner Brockway had written an article on this subject, but the view expressed in that article was not the same as the Russian attitude. The meaning of this attitude is that the Russians are prepared to sacrifice the International Working Class for Russia. The proof of this was:

1. Russia is allied with Capitalist Governments instead of the working class.
2. The Communist International is an instrument of the nationalist policy of Russia.
3. The terrorising of the International Working Class, as has been the case in Spain. Here Russia intervened; its aim was not the Social Revolution but a step in its foreign policy.
4. The sacrifice of the subject colonial peoples for nationalist policy.

A further proof of the correctness of this analysis was the sympathy which the "reformists" now had with Russia.

Comrade Franz then drew the following conclusions:

"A". It was necessary to fight strongly against the Stalinist policy, and thus withhold working-class support from Stalin.

"B". We must defend Soviet Russia because of its proletarian foundation. The means must be defined — not with the help of reactionary forces but through the action of the working-class itself.

"C". *We must not adopt a defeatist attitude. There were various forces in Russia—reactionary and proletarian. The working-class must be considered as a political, social and cultural force with a Socialist will. It is our duty to help the latter.*

We must combine the defence of Soviet Russia with the defence of the Socialist forces in Russia. The winning of workers' power in other countries will be the best way to help the genuine proletarian forces in Russia.

RESOLUTION ON SOVIET RUSSIA

ADOPTED AS A BASIS OF DISCUSSION ONLY

1. This Conference of Revolutionary Socialists and Communists sees in the Russian Revolution of October, 1917, the greatest event in the history of the proletariat and acknowledges the progress accomplished in industrial, agricultural and economic development (i.e., the socialisation of industry and the nationalisation of land, the industrialisation by means of a planned economy and the collectivisation of the land). It sees in the existence of the system of collectivism in U.S.S.R., even though it be bureaucratic, an enormous advantage for the world-wide proletariat. This requires of us the defence of the U.S.S.R.

2. But, on the other hand, events have taken place in Soviet Russia which must be denounced. The political oppression and exploitation of the workers by the Stalinist bureaucracy cause prejudice to the idea of Socialism and diminish faith in the Soviet régime. The Socialist Revolutionary Movement denounces, in the strongest possible language, the trials of revolutionary leaders of proved worth and looks with horror on the long series of arrests, imprisonments and executions which have taken place.

3. The Revolutionary Socialist Movement regards equally with disquiet certain economic tendencies, such as the increasing differentiation of income, the reintroduction of the principle of inheritance, and the reinforcement of the State apparatus of repression. This shows a tendency on the part of the U.S.S.R. to move from rather than towards the classless society. Although having an interest in maintaining the economic bases which came out of the October revolution, Stalinist bureaucracy, by its foreign policy and its internal policy, is holding up the social, cultural and economic revolution and gravely threatening the existence of the U.S.S.R.

4. Russian foreign policy, placing its confidence in the League of Nations and in Pacts with Capitalist Governments rather than in an alliance with the world proletarian forces, has called off the class struggle and the anti-Imperialist

struggle, and in Spain, France and other countries has even provoked a counter-revolutionary line in subordinating, by its Popular Front policy, the proletariat to the bourgeoisie.

5. The new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. cannot be described as the introduction to a Socialist democracy. The only candidates accepted at the last elections, carried out under this Constitution, were those amenable to the Stalinist majority, and there was neither liberty of speech nor of the press for those who held opposing conceptions.

6. The Revolutionary Socialist Movement urges that there should be a return to proletarian democracy in Soviet Russia, expressed through the application of full democracy within the Communist Party and in an electoral system which gives political freedom to all workers and peasants. Through this means Soviet Russia may yet be saved to fulfil the function of the Revolutionary Socialist vanguard in the struggle against world Capitalism.

Parties, Groups and Individuals who desire further information about the

**INTERNATIONAL BUREAU FOR
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST UNITY**

should write to:—

THE SECRETARIAT, I.B.R.S.U. 35 St. Bride Street,
London, E.C.4.

HELP THE AUSTRIAN WORKERS

HITLER had not "occupied" Austria when the Paris Conference was held. But the Conference asked the Bureau to establish an International Fund for the assistance of parties and individuals suffering persecution, and they will welcome the immediate action of the Bureau in opening the

AUSTRIAN SOLIDARITY FUND

to assist (1) the victims of Fascism and the families of those in prison, and (2) the continuation of Socialist activity in Austria.

The Bureau has close contacts with the Left Section of the Austrian Revolutionary Socialist Party and with Opposition elements of the Communist Party.

Within three days of the Hitler coup the following message was received from Vienna:—

A terrible Terror has broken out. The workers will again withstand even this Fascism. In this hour we call to you—comrades in other lands who still know what freedom is:

Workers—unite under the Red Flag of Socialism and help us in our work. Fight with us for freedom for mankind and for the rising again of the working class.

We call to you, comrades, beyond the frontiers. Help us who are fighting hard—know that we are true. Make propaganda for us, and tell the masses of your people about the illegal struggle of our workers.

Greetings for Freedom!

This message has been drawn up and endorsed by the last aggregate meeting of the Socialist workers of ——— district of Vienna. No one has signed it, but all have sworn with fist on the paper.

The Bureau asks not only the parties and groups represented at the Paris Conference, but all working-class organisations and Socialists, to give immediate support to our comrades in Vienna by sending donations and organising collections for

THE AUSTRIAN SOLIDARITY FUND

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